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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews some significant research on ethnic variables as they relate to the process of schooling such as ethnicity and performance. Particular ethnic groups such as Spanish speaking subgroups in New York City, Mexican Americans, blacks, and American Indians are then discussed in order to provide a body of information as well as to suggest a number of unresolved theoretical and practical problems in understanding cultural pluralism. The importance of recognizing the possibility of different educational values among various ethnic groups and the ways in which particular ethnic groups evaluate competent performance is stressed and specifically illustrated using the Spanish speaking minorities in New York City. A review of the research on factors affecting school performance of Mexican Americans indicates a failure to recognize correctly the cultural differences that exist between this and the Anglo culture. The section on blacks reviews some of the seminal works conceptualizing black culture which have a profound effect on how we view black culture in its complex relationship to the larger white culture while the discussion on American Indians focuses on the acculturation difficulties unique to these people. The section on cultural pluralism discusses the ways in which a particular group can have a repertoire of behavior and the kinds of educational interventions that the society must provide in order to educate a multi-ethnic school population. (Author/AM)

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A Psychological Anthropologist's View of Ethnicity and Schooling

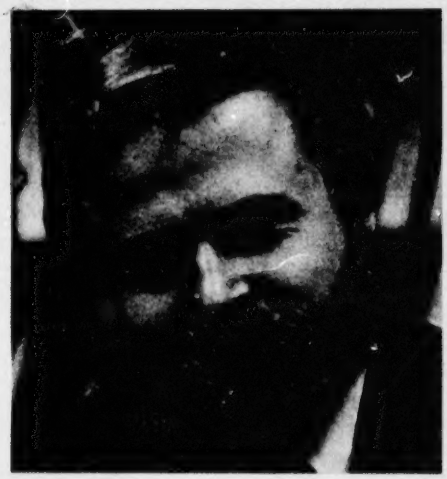

Photo by Neal Grove

by Charles C. Harrington

Psychological anthropology is that branch of anthropology concerned with the interface between individuals and their culture. A natural concern for psychological anthropologists is how individuals are socialized, and particularly, as Henry Murray used to say, how one becomes in some ways like all persons, in some ways like some persons, and in some ways like no other person Psychological anthropology as such is concerned mainly with the first two phenomena, leaving the last to psychology. We are here concerned with the ways in which we categorize or divide people into groups, or how they divide themselves.

The purpose of this paper is to review some significant research related to the very important social category or classification of ethnicity. I have chosen first to review the literature on some of the fundamental issues of ethnicity and schooling and then to discuss particular ethnic groups not only to provide a body of information, but also to suggest a number of unresolved theoretical and practical problems in our understanding of cultural pluralism, which I feel are best illustrated in the research on particular ethnic groups. The resolution of these problems I feel is critical: how we understand and use the concepts of ethnicity and cultural pluralism will affect our ability to educate a multi-ethnic school population.

I first review the concept of ethnicity particularly as it relates to schooling. At the outset I stress the importance of our recognizing the possibility of different educational values among various ethnic groups and how the ways in which a particular ethnic group evaluates competent performance may be in conflict with another group's view. This is especially significant if one is a minority ethnic group and the other is the dominant sociocultural group. In my subsequent discussion of Spanish speaking groups in New York City, I illustrate these value conflicts and point to the kind of further research that is needed to increase our understanding of ethnic children in the schools. I next turn to Mexican Americans and review the research on the factors affecting their school performance, particularly again the educational values and attitudes of students, parents, and school people, but here I point to the unfortunate educational results of our failure to recognize properly the cultural differences that exist between and among Mexican Americans and Anglos and to adequately respond to them. A discussion of blacks follows. Here, rather than reviewing the research

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about cultural attitudes and values, about which much is already known, I have chosen to review some of the seminal works conceptualizing black culture, which have had a profound effect on how we view black culture in its complex relationship to the larger white culture of which it is a part. This discussion is important because our perspective dictates our choices in educating not only this group but also all minority ethnic groups with a distinct culture that is variously affected by the majority culture. In the next discussion of American Indians I review some of the issues already raised showing their distinct character when looking at American Indians, particularly the acculturation difficulties unique to these peoples. Here too our conceptualization of this cultural group, possibly the most removed from the mainstream culture, will affect any future action for improving their educational opportunities. Finally, I turn to the issue of cultural pluralism, the ways in which a particular group can have a repertoire of behavior, and the kinds of educational interventions that the society must provide in order to educate a multi-ethnic school population.

Ethnicity in the Schools

Ethnicity is here viewed as a complex interaction of a variety of factors which may create important differences among groups of individuals. First, in order for a concept of ethnicity to be effective for use in the United States it must contain the factor of nationality. Extensive studies have been done by applied anthropologists from Columbia University in the past ten years concerning the various nationality groups found in New York City, studied not only in New York but also in their countries of origin before and during the process of migration. We have been able to identify critical sociological dimensions that affect the move to the United States, such as the demographic composition of the migrant group and the types of migration which occur, particularly the circulatory (or shuttle) migration practiced by Dominicans and increasingly by Puerto Ricans. It is clear that there are differences among these nationality groups and that these differences are not clearly understood by the staffs of many schools. Language is one variable that distinguishes among the nationality groups, although it can also link them. While there are more refined differences among them, Spanish speaking groups are often lumped together: many teachers – indeed many New Yorkers – assume that Spanish speaking students are all Puerto Rican. Such inference of nationality from language is not welcome by, for example, the Dominicans to whom it is applied. In addition to language differences, nationalities differ in the legal definition of their stay in the United States. Puerto Ricans are legally citizens and legally residents in the United States. Dominicans are denizens. Those who are in the country legally are still waiting to meet eligibility requirements for citizenship. Even more confounding is the fact that an unknown proportion of Dominicans reside in this country illegally, that is they may have overstayed a visitor's visa (Hendricks 1971) and they must actively seek to hide their status from authorities. Thus Dominican parents are much less able to participate in school politics or to provide the school with accurate data about family size, birth place, and so forth.

In addition to the differences by nationality, language and legal status, there are also differences on an additional set of factors which contribute to a meaningful definition of ethnicity. Differences along these variables can be found to some degree within ***all*** the nationality groups. These factors are important in influencing relationships among adults, among children, and between the groups and school personnel. They include skin color; educational background and attainment by parents; migration from either rural or urban backgrounds; occupation and income; religion; and dialect differences that are found within language groups.

Research I carried out at Teachers College's Center for Urban Studies and Programs in the early 1970's (now continuing at the Institute for Urban and Minority Education) has strongly suggested that each of these variables can influence how a teacher responds to a child in class. Skin color is sometimes used by teachers as the sole criterion for judging a child's ethnicity and, through ethnicity, his ability; children of lighter skin receive more positive attention (see also Rubovits and Maehr 1973). Highly educated parents have been observed entreating and receiving special favors and treatment for their children. Teachers feel that children from rural areas face adjustment problems in New York City to a greater degree than urban children ("His parents are just peasant farmers – he has a long way to go"). Since teachers bear many norms of American culture as well as norms of the city culture, they also respond to occupation and money cues of parents. Dialect differences between spoken languages of the nationality groups are also used as cues to infer inferiority. Black English is "wrong;" Puerto Rican Spanish "does not sound good," and so forth (see also Campbell 1970). Observers have also described non-verbal communication habits being used as criteria for evaluation. For example, children attending a Spanish Heritage Day in a Spanish-dominant school assembly were upbraided (by a U.S. born, middle class black school administrator) for shouting approval and clapping and haughtily told that "*here* we express approval only with our hands, *not* our mouths."

We perceive ethnicity not as a rigid category, but as a semi-fluid interaction of the variables outlined above. Indeed

OSCAR DEPRIEST COTTON
Died on November 17, 1975

He was Director of
the General Assistance Center for
Equal Educational Opportunity of the
Institute for Urban and Minority Education

Oscar Cotton will be deeply missed
both as a colleague and a friend

while these variables produce a very large number of combinations and hence an enormous potential number of ethnic categories, the actual diversity is not so great. For example, there are few Dominican immigrants from urban backgrounds; most have not been granted citizenship; and most are lower class *campesinos*. More important, in any given interaction an individual may choose to accent one variable and play down others, for example, as when a rural Puerto Rican with other Puerto Ricans emphasizes his "Puerto Ricanness" but when with Dominicans emphasizes his common Spanish language or rural origin.

Ethnicity and Performance

It is an anthropological commonplace that disparate cultural values will affect one group's evaluations of another's performance or one group's perceptions of another's competence. It would be unwise, however, to extend that commonplace and to assume we know specifically how disparate values are related to one group's evaluations or perceptions of another without testing them. This means first identifying the values held by the various ethnic groups which could affect their performance or competence as perceived by the school, and, second, demonstrating that these values in fact are reflected in the school's evaluations and perceptions.

Probably the best known account of how cultural values different from those of the school have affected performance evaluation, success, failure and perceptions of competence is work done among the Navajo and the schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (see, for example, Leighton and Kluckhohn 1946). The Navajo value a democratic harmony. To be different from a norm is to be deviant and by definition to fail on this important standard. Teachers, however, judge achievement purely in terms of success on school tasks, and distribute rewards differentially on that basis. The literature describes an incident in which a student who achieved an "A" on a test in which "C" was the norm was praised in front of the class as an example to be emulated. The "successful" child, however, was filled with embarrassment and shame at being so exposed as different from his peers. He could be expected to take care not to "fail" in this way again.

The thrust of anthropological literature has been to demonstrate that different cultures allocate values differently and that these values have consequences for behavior. This literature has gone well beyond simplistic assertions that culture A is different from culture B. Anthropologists have been able to account for value differences by examining child raising practices, family, political, and economic organizations. Value systems, then, are deeply embedded within a cultural matrix and more difficult to change in an acculturation situation than knowledge or belief systems (see Whiting and Whiting 1961). Therefore the way the values of a particular cultural group lead them to evaluate tasks expected of their children in schools may lead to serious and pervasive conflict when schools are run by and attentive to the values of a different culture.

There is evidence from research to support a lack of responsiveness on the part of schools to the values of the children they serve. Wax (1967), examining high school dropouts from the Pine Ridge Sioux schools, documents the dissimilarity between the values of the Sioux culture and that of the middle class, white oriented schools. Fuchs and Havighurst (1972) point to the insubstantial Indian influence on curriculum design and content in schools for Indians and the predominance of non-Indian personnel in these schools. Judgments of success or excellence by school personnel may be at variance with judgments produced by a particular ethnic group. Indeed, what the school values as an objective may not be so perceived by a particular group being served, and what a particular group defines as a goal may seem inappropriate to the school. For example, many schools are setting up bilingual education programs in response to the obvious perceived needs of many Spanish speaking students. However U.S. born blacks object to the diversion of funds from their children, and "middle class" Puerto Rican parents object to their children being taught to read in Spanish because this will prevent them from getting "white" (English speaking) jobs.[1]

Conversely, other Spanish parents are actively concerned with maintaining their own ethnic identities with their linguistic heritage and want their children to read and write adequately in Spanish. At the same time, in more traditional schools there are no bilingual programs; even schools having 60% Spanish speaking children can have less than 1% staff who even speak Spanish. These schools clearly only value learning to read and write in English, and judgments of competence are often made solely on this criterion. In such a setting a student's *ability* to learn, no matter how well he can read or write Spanish, is evaluated solely by his scores on English reading tests.

These examples emphasize the contradictions that can exist between school goals and the goals of the ethnic groups which make up the school population. While the findings from psychology consistently suggest that competence on a particular task is rewarding, the anthropological literature would suggest that competence in a task valued by one's culture is more rewarding than competence in a task not valued by one's culture, and that failure at a task valued by one's culture is more costly than failure at a task not valued by one's own culture.

Spanish Speaking Groups in New York City

New York's Spanish speaking population is composed of several distinct ethnic groups, including Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Cubans. Puerto Ricans constitute the single largest group in New York's Spanish population, and it is the case in fact that other large Spanish speaking groups are often confused with Puerto Ricans. The following discussion will focus on another of those large groups – the 300,000 Dominicans who live in New York – in part to correct this imbalanced view and in part because data on Dominicans usefully illustrate the disparity in values between ethnic group and school which we have described above.

Results from three major sources (Hendricks 1973, Walker 1973, and Foxworthy 1972) argue that Dominican

[1] This is a matter of structural vs. cultural pluralism; see below.

parents tend to view education as learning how to read and write. Tasks undertaken in school other than these are said to have no place. There is some evidence that Dominican children, at least when they first enter school, share their parents' views. Dominican parents perceive the purpose of schooling as the means by which their children can acquire a proficiency in English enabling them to get good jobs. Education is said to be seen by Dominican parents as a validation of the change of status brought about by their social mobility from the life of the *campesino* in the rural Dominican Republic to urban New York. While the prime reasons for migration are said to be economic, an educated child is evidence that the migration has been successful, for had it been necessary for the child to work in order to contribute to the support of his family, he could not have attended school.

Not only are Dominican parents' attitudes toward the content of education often at odds with those of the school, but discrepant values concerning the personal characteristics of teachers have been noted. Dominican parents expect the teachers of their children to be authoritarian and to maintain strict and effective discipline. Teachers who define their role in a more informal way (e.g. in an open classroom) are often interpreted by Dominicans as weak and incompetent. Further, if a child acts out Dominican parents expect the teacher to take care of the matter. A teacher who calls a parent to ask for a conference, to enlist the parents' cooperation or alert them to their child's conduct is regarded as weak and unable to handle discipline. Teachers who attend to teaching reading and mathematics are valued; those who concern themselves more personnally with the child are not.[2]

It should be noted that not all ethnic groups in New York share the attitudes toward school described above. While some Puerto Ricans and U.S. born blacks, and nearly all Dominicans and Cubans, favor successful reading instruction and more formal aspects of education as the means by which their children can aspire to the middle class, others take a different view. More politically oriented sections of the Puerto Rican and black groups value verbal and social skills and denigrate school tasks as middle class "white" skills improperly imposed on a different culture. These groups appear to emphasize political and economic maneuvering in the gaining of resources. It is interesting that Cubans and Dominicans are disenfranchised while U.S. born blacks and Puerto Ricans are citizens and potentially politically potent. It seems to be the more politically secure groups which can support cultural pluralism (not surprising in view of our discussion of cultural pluralism below).

It seems clear that if we are to truly educate the child we must consider not only the ethnicity of his family background but also the ethnicity of his comprehensive social milieu – that is, the composition of his class, his peer group, his teachers, and the placement of his ethnic group in various neighborhood-defined hierarchies.

[2] Care should be exercised in applying these descriptions of Dominicans in New York to those in other settings. In addition, Hendricks' (1973) study, from which a number of my observations have been drawn, was of a largely stable "middle class" group, which may differ in important respects from more recently arrived Dominicans.

As much as we do know, further research is required if we are to achieve adequate understanding of these groups. We must first ascertain what kinds of indigenous learning situations exist for the various populations outside of school, and what are the successes of these learning situations in achieving their goals, whether the goals are self-expressed or implicit. Identification of the impact of variables like socioeconomic status, language, cultural values, income, occupation, and religion must therefore be examined. We must analyze the kinds of rewards and sanctions used in those situations and the styles of instruction in each. Data must be collected on a sufficient number of categories of educational settings to allow descriptions of the types of settings important for each of the migrant groups and the characteristics of instruction in each setting type for each group.

We must also ascertain on the macro level the effect of migration on educational processes in whatever setting they occur. Where possible, data relevant to pre-migrational instructional patterns must be collected, allowing gross comparisons of a pre-post migrational kind. Some of these peoples have moved to new sites to stay. Others have come here to work and obtain resources so that they can return to their home country with capital to establish businesses or otherwise improve their status. Still others engage in what can only be described as circular migration, in which, for most individuals, two bases can be said to exist. It makes considerable difference to schools which pattern of migration is encountered. If children will return to their native, non-English speaking homes, there is little need for special programs to teach them English; what is needed is instruction in their native tongue. An important question is how "individuals and small groups, because of specific economic and political circumstances in their *former position* and among the assimilating group, may change their locality, their subsistence pattern, their political allegiance and form, or their household membership" (Barth 1969:24).

Then, we must discover the implicit cultural values that are relevant to schooling, specifically examining what is perceived to be important to learn and what is not. We must determine which of two variables – language or cultural values – is the most powerful predictor of school failure or success. If nationality were synonymous with ethnicity and cultural values, knowing from school records which language is spoken in the home and the birth place of the parents would allow us to easily assess which variable is more potent. But nationality and ethnicity are not the same. Only by a thorough knowledge of the family based upon ethnographic data can one hope to identify truly cultural variables.

We must begin to understand the processes whereby children learn about their own ethnicity and the ethnicity of others. The following observations from Foxworthy's New York City field notes illustrate the kinds of phenomena we need to understand more fully.

In a sixth grade class:

> "A Cuban-Chinese boy is called 'Chino' by Dominican boys but not by Cuban boys." "Dominican boys never dance at class parties with U.S. born black girls, but

dance with Dominican girls of the same skin color." "Friendship choices for girls tend to be across ethnic lines, while the choices of boys are always within ethnic lines."

In a fourth grade class:

> "The teacher starts a discussion about Dominican Independence Day and the Dominican leader Duarte. A Dominican boy asks the teacher if she is from the Dominican Republic. When she says no, Puerto Rico, he gives her a thumbs down sign and tells her that's bad . . . Santo Domingo is better." "There is a lot of talk between boys about whose hair is getting long enough to be an Afro, and whether Afros are good or bad. The children's discussions center on the trouble of combing it, however, while a similar discussion among adults, i.e. mothers, has racial considerations ('he'll look like an African') as the dominant feature."

The processes of development of such images in children, and their consequences, are important areas of study which have significance far beyond the particular setting under study.

Finally, we must shed light on the consequences of stereotyping in the process of the classroom. Rosenthal's (1971) study made an empirical argument that stereotypes, in this case of a pupil's ability, could become self-fulfilling stereotypes. Gumpert and Gumpert, while acknowledging defects in the statistical analysis of the Rosenthal book, find evidence to substantiate this point. (But see also Elashoff and Snow 1971.)

To summarize, in order to arrive at an understanding of ethnicity we need to know more about the interaction among variables which determine the life patterns and values of these groups, how they view themselves and how they are viewed by others. With this knowledge, directives for educational planning should become clearer.

Mexican Americans

Recent research on Mexican Americans has investigated specifically some of the factors influencing school performance which we discussed above with particular reference to the Spanish speaking groups in New York City. Several of these studies address the issue of values and attitudes – of students, parents, and school – from which we might draw conclusions about the nature of ethnicity which may have implications for educational practice.

Schwartz (1971) emphasizes that ethnicity must be defined by variables in addition to simple nationality labels. Her study compared Mexican American and Anglo secondary school age children. She found high expectations of school attendance for both groups but a higher generalized faith in mankind and more optimistic orientation toward the future among Anglos than among Mexican Americans. These variables were also related to achievement. More important, she showed that within the Mexican American group these values were not distributed evenly, and that Mexican American pupils of higher socioeconomic status were more similar to Anglos.

Evans and Anderson (1973), while not examining variations within the Mexican American group as did Schwartz, did

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An outline for the paper should be sent to the Clearinghouse by March 15, 1976 for review. The outlines with reviewers' comments will be returned by April 5, 1976. The papers must be submitted by June 30, 1976.

The specifications for the paper are as follows:

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find that stereotypes about this group held by educators and used to explain their relation to failure are seriously in error. Mexican American students, in comparison to Anglos, did have lower self concepts of ability, experienced less democratic parental independence training, had fatalistic present time orientations, had a high striving orientation, and lower educational aspirations; however, simple minded linkages to school attitudes do not work. The Mexican Americans were also found to come from homes where education was valued and stressed. Parental encouragement of schooling was linked to values and experiences which the authors attribute to a "culture of poverty."

Madsen and Kagan (1973) report a study of experimental situations in a small Mexican town and among Anglos in Los Angeles. Mothers of both groups rewarded their children for success, but Mexican mothers more often gave rewards for failure than did Anglo mothers. Anglo mothers chose higher and more difficult achievement goals for their children. Does this matter? Yes, but again not in the simple way one might expect – high achievement goals producing better performance. Madsen's 1971 study of cooperative-competitive behavior in the same populations as those in the preceding study shows a higher level of *cooperation* among Mexican than among Anglo American children. There are also increases in *non-adaptive* competition with age for the Anglo group.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights (1971) examined "the degree to which schools in the Southwest are succeeding in educating their students, particularly minority students." Using five measures of achievement – school holding power (the ability of the school to retain students until completion of course of study), reading achievement, grade repetition, overageness, and participation in extracurricular activities – the Commission concludes that there are great discrepancies in the outcomes of students of different ethnic groups. In all measures Mexican Americans achieve at a markedly lower rate than Anglo Americans. The United States Commission on Civil Rights (1972) deals with the issue of assimilation. It sketches the conflict between the emphasis on Anglo culture (and language) in the schools and a distinct Mexican American cultural pattern. This report addresses three aspects of cultural exclusion as practiced in schools: 1) exclusion of the Spanish language; 2) exclusion of the Mexican heritage; and 3) exclusion of the Mexican American community from full participation in school affairs.

Clearly then, we are not doing an adequate job of educating Mexican American children. It may be that positive identification with one's culture or ethnicity is a powerful motivation for tested achievement. Feeling of self worth seems adaptive in the face of benign neglect of the school for one's group, but how is it acquired in the face of everyday pressures?

Blacks

If we have much to learn about the cultural attributes which contribute to the ethnic characters of the migratory Spanish groups, a different challenge altogether is illustrated by the more settled, urban, English speaking ethnic group: blacks. In point of fact, those we commonly label blacks actually constitute at least two major groups. One is the migrants and their descendents from various British West Indian islands (predominantly Trinidad, Jamaica and Barbados). These groups represent a migrant population of long history and stability, and many of our most prominent blacks are in fact British West Indian descendants. The other is the black U.S. population located in this country since its inception, the group to whom we now turn our attention.

Recent psychological anthropological studies of U.S. urban blacks have brought to the fore the problem of perspective, or how to view a relatively stable, well known ethnic population. The most psychologically oriented of these recent studies is Hannerz' (1969). His book is also interesting because it marks (with Ogbu's 1974) attempts by non-American anthropologists to come to grips with black U.S. culture. Using the tools of the anthropologist, Hannerz describes life in the ghetto, but his particular interest is given to the development of male role behavior, a subject which also concerned Elliot Liebow in *Tally's Corner* (1969). In fact, in one way or another, much of the anthropological literature about the urban black ghetto has centered on male role behavior, either of teenagers (Walter Miller, for example) or adults.

The literature about blacks can be classed according to the following three theoretical positions using male role as an example:

1) Behavior in a black ghetto is a deviant form of normal "mainstream" male role behavior. For example, black ghetto males are more aggressive because they are protesting their masculinity in terms defined as masculine by white, middle class people. That they overdo their behavior into a caricature of the white middle class male role is attributable to their coming from a subculture where matrifocal families predominate, depriving the child of male role models. Their inability to successfully carry out instrumental aspects of the male role results from their lack of training and exclusion from jobs.

2) Behavior in a black ghetto is evidence of a ghetto-specific or black culture-specific (see Young 1970) phenomenon; the ghetto is simply a different culture from white, middle class America. For example, it is a mistake to interpret male ghetto behavior as a reaction or in relation to white, middle class definitions. This is just the way ghetto males behave. Upholders of this position typically downgrade the "protest masculine" explanation as inappropriate, and also suggest it to be inaccurate since male influence in the ghetto is strong, particularly through extra-familial groups.

3) Behavior in a black ghetto is merely a local expression of a "culture of poverty" which is found worldwide. The critical dimension here is that the state of poverty, in a culture in which wealth is also present, creates certain behavioral patterns which hold, regardless of what mainstream culture is like. For example, matrifocal households and aggressive males are part of this "culture," and are therefore to be expected in our black ghetto.

So we have in anthropology a choice, and increasingly a dispute, among respectively the "subculture" (or subsociety), the "separate culture," and the "culture of poverty" schools in interpreting black ghetto behavior. Liebow upholds the first position and Valentine (1968) appears to lean toward it; Hannerz the second; and Oscar Lewis and his followers the third. Much of Hannerz' book *Soulside* is a justification of his own position. But all three schools and the dogmas which surround them may block our understanding of life in a ghetto, or anywhere. The concept of culture, instead of being an analytic tool, can *prevent* analysis by obscuring what it is we are talking about.

To pursue our argument further, Hannerz suggests that ghetto sex role behavior cannot be accounted for as protest against middle class values. Such an explanation would postulate that, for example, father absence leads to feminine identity and a subsequent exhibition of hypermasculine traits. Hannerz argues that since there *are* men in the ghetto who could serve as role models, the subculture position is fallacious; however his own argument is misdirected. Hannerz is right, if not original, in attacking a theory that fixates on father absence to explain sex role learning. Why not father salience, mother salience, sibling presence and salience, peer groups, etc., not to mention effects of street society, power positions, and so forth? But this has nothing to do with whether the black ghetto is a culture or a subculture.

There is a fair amount of psychological anthropological literature which talks about the effects of such variables regardless of a particular culture's definitions. But what we need for blacks are studies which link these influences to behavior. In our anthropological studies of the urban ghetto, we must see to what extent our *cross-cultural* findings of the last twenty years in the fields of perception, cognition and socialization can account for what we see in the ghetto. This, not polemic about what kind of culture or subculture ghetto life is (for example, Valentine 1968), is what is required. To say, as Hannerz does, that black male behavior is ghetto specific is *not* an explanation and is barely a description. But an extensive ethnographic study to account for behavior as a result of certain developmental and situational pressures which are themselves extensively treated and tested in anthropological literature is the kind of contribution I hope to see come out of psychological anthropology in the future.

Nevertheless, whether to conceptualize the black ghetto as a subculture, a culture, or a local manifestation of a culture of poverty *is* an important problem for educators. Each leads to different action and each position can find its defenders. I think all three are true to a certain extent, each perhaps helps us better understand one or another aspect of behavior. But I think none of them alone can help us very much. Further, the blacks are stratified so that for some groups one may matter more than for other groups.[3]

Educators should therefore recognize the inadequacy of any one approach. Valentine (1972) comes close to this kind of approach in his discussion of "biculturation." He states:

> The collective behavior and community life of Afro-Americans can best be understood as bicultural in the sense that people regularly draw upon both an ethnically distinctive repertoire of beliefs and customs and, at the same time, make use of behavior patterns from the European American cultural mainstream (p. 33).[4]

It would be useful to educators to understand contemporary human behavior, to specify the importance of what goes on outside of school to the learning of social behavior, and to study the techniques of instruction that exist there, and the processes of learning that are involved. In some ways we know more about Samoa than about what happens six blocks east of my office.

American Indians

Studies of American Indians present a special case to the psychological anthropologist concerned with determining the factors which contribute to a definition of ethnicity of these peoples, and resultant implications for education. A great deal of anthropological research was carried out more than twenty years ago because North American Indian cultures provided an easily accessible "laboratory" for the study of acculturation (for summaries see Honigmann 1972, Barnouw 1973, Haring 1956). Some recent studies have focused on the phenomena occuring as these peoples, perhaps the most removed from mainstream culture, are brought up against urban life. However, recent studies sometimes lose sight of the differences among the groups that fall under the label American Indians. These differences, in addition to obvious tribal distinctions, involve all the variables listed in our earlier discussion of ethnicity, and the reader should not lose sight of them. Some of the problems that have been noted in our discussions of other ethnic groups – values and value conflict, ethnic identity and community, the perspective from which to view a cultural group – are demonstrated in studies of American Indians, as well as acculturation difficulties unique to these peoples.

Graves (1970) has written with eloquence about the Indians for whom urban migration is chosen as a result of inadequate economic opportunities on the reservation, and who then find the economic role of the migrant in the city to be only marginal (Sanday, 1973, has gone so far as to call them culturally marginal). To this economic insecurity he attributes, in large part, their extremely high rate of arrest in Denver for drinking and drinking related offenses. His ten year study of 259 Navajo male migrants reveals the economic, social and psychological pressures and constraints (see also Graves 1973).

Trible (1969) has compared the psycho-social character-

[3] J. Milton Yinger's discussion of contraculture and subculture (1960) is also important. Yinger's discussion of contraculture is closely related to the issue of ethnicity; Yinger claims that he has found the concept of subculture used in several distinct ways a problem not unlike that surrounding the concept of ethnicity. "Contraculture" refers to the creation of a "series of inverse or counter values (opposed to those of the surrounding society) in face of serious frustration or conflict" (1960:627). It is not difficult to tie in this concept with Valentine's notion of biculturation (which Valentine in fact does).

[4] Biculturation for Mexican Americans and the issue of bicognitive development is addressed in Ramirez and Castaneda, 1974.

istics of employed and unemployed western Oklahoma male Indians representing nineteen tribes. Several salient differences were found which reinforce Graves' thesis: while level of training and education were unrelated to employment status, self concept variables were clearly linked.

Robbins (1973) describes an increase in interpersonal conflict as a concomitant of economic change. He describes the drinking behaviors of the Naskapi Indians of Quebec and claims an increase in frequencies of identity struggles and the development of ritualized or formalized social interactions which serve as identity resolving forums. He concludes (Robbins 1971) that drinking behaviors provide an arena in which individuals can make status claims. Those who are successful wage earners (a status formerly achieved through hunting) make such claims by gift giving. Those who are failures make status claims through aggressive behavior. Robbins argues then that aggressive drinking behavior provides the Naskapi with a means for taking an identity he has not been able to achieve through the new economic channels. This research is a cut above the usual studies of the linkages between stress and alcoholism because of its analysis of the behaviors associated with drinking rather than drinking per se.

Savard (1969) concludes that the Navajo alcoholic seems to use alcohol not as an escape but as a means of entree into social relationships. Group fellowship among drinkers is seen as countering an inability to function in as large a variety of social groups as nonalcoholics function in. Explanations of culturally sanctioned responses for dealing with stresses of acculturation are congruent with the description in Whiting et al. (1966) of culturally sanctioned defense mechanisms for handling a failure to live up to cultural norms. A considerable promise for future research in this area can be assured.

Of course not all cultures succeed in establishing such cultural defenses, and individual expressions of stress-induced anger are possible. For example, Ackerman (1971) relates juvenile delinquency among Nez Perce Indians to marital instability, loss of communal discipline, loss of patrilocality, and sex role definition changes. Levy and Kunitz (1971), studying the Navajo, argue that feelings of anomie are not responses to acculturation but should be seen rather as persisting elements of Navajo culture. And Boag (1970) feels that the social problems faced by Arctic natives resemble those of underprivileged minorities elsewhere. While traditional patterns of psychopathology are obscured by social change, they are replaced by familiar identity and family disorganization pathologies. It is worth noting that we have heard this debate before. To make the linkage clear, for some theorists stress reactions are Indian culture-specific, for others they represent reactions to new role demands made by the larger Anglo society, and for others they represent yet another manifestation of a culture shared by poor minorities elsewhere. Again, more data are needed to adequately sort out for which areas of life these processes operate.

More directly relating cultural attributes of American Indians to education, Fuchs and Havighurst (1972) examined data on Indian residents of Chicago. In the last twenty years Chicago has experienced a surge of Indian migration. The authors claim that although approximately seven thousand Indians reside in Chicago only 237 Indian children were found in attendance at the schools located in the area of highest Indian concentration. They assert that urban life has not suppressed indigenous values of these native people and attribute the educational isolation to feelings on the part of Indian youth that schools are punitively directed against them, to their unfamiliarity with educational prerequisites to careers and socioeconomic success, to their isolation from the mainstream, and to influence of peers. (For linguistic variables, see Philips 1970.) The authors conclude:

> Indian education is an essential part of the complete process by which the Indian peoples make progress toward their own goals as individuals and as social groups. For this, they must secure a higher material standard of living, and more *real* options for themselves as individuals, families, and tribes (author's emphasis, p. 314).

However, how are Indians to achieve these options *and* change their pattern of underdevelopment? The authors suggest that the "dominant society [will] act in good faith, mainly through the Federal Government." This is hardly likely in the light of history and their own ethnographic evidence.

Cultural Pluralism

In this paper we have been building to an argument for a greater orientation in schools to the cultural pluralism of the peoples they serve. Cultural pluralism is a cultural diversity. It refers to differences brought about by group norms, resulting in different behavioral styles among various ethnic and linguistic groups. Group identity is nourished; attempts to minimize group differences and achieve melting pot models are eschewed. Sanday (1973) has recently distinguished cultural pluralism from structural pluralism. It is an important differentiation. Structural pluralism is the differential incorporation (or strati-

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fication) of various population categories into the opportunity structure of the society. It prevents some groups from achieving the social and economic status which others are able to achieve; racism is an example of structural pluralism. One can talk about maintaining cultural differences and, at the same time, providing the learning experiences required to successfully compete for resources. Presumably this prevents cultural pluralism from becoming structural pluralism. But is this in fact true or possible in a society so used to differentially incorporating race and sex and nationality populations in its opportunity structure?

Ethnic differentiation is clearly the most basic form of cultural pluralism (see Van den Berghe 1973). When ethnicity corresponds to racial divisions, however, the more structural forms of pluralism emerge. Examples are not difficult to come by to suggest that in many societies, including our own, racial identification has been important and necessary to support an exploitative, subordinating relationship (e.g., slavery and colonialism). Exploitation and subordination *need not* be aspects of *cultural* pluralism, but because of its context in our own de facto economically stratified society, is a completely benign cultural pluralism really possible?

Educators must be aware that schools form only a part of a child's life. The education of American minority group children takes place within the context of the way in which our society is actually stratified. For example, Ogbu (1974) argues that black and Mexican American students reduce their efforts in school tasks to the level of rewards they expect as future adults. We must ask what differences in children we can reasonably expect through our educational innovations, given the everyday reality of growing up in an economically discriminated segment of the population. This is especially important in evaluating what we do. For example, we must not judge the effects of school integration too quickly when there is so much that remains segregated in our lives.

Yet schools must do a better job, must not turn or help turn cultural pluralism into structural pluralism. Our directives point in the following ways. We need to increase the diversity of educational environments to increase the likelihood of children finding one within which they can function. We need to increase the number and diversity of educational outcomes sought for assessment and the procedures for measuring them. We need to nurture the legitimacy of multiple educational outcomes that foster cultural pluralism without reinforcing structural pluralism. We must insist on curriculum definitions that allow the examination of what goes on in school as part of a larger context – the rest of the child's life.

Conclusions

Let me end with a warning. We have been reviewing a wide range of literature on a number of ethnic variables as they relate to processes of schooling. It would indicate a serious misunderstanding if the information we have given about the various groups were used to construct yet more stereotypes, however refined, about these groups. The reader should remember that we have been dealing with the second aspect of Murray's aphorism. The other two still operate and, however much a child may be like other children because of ethnicity, there are still ways in which he is like all other children regardless of ethnicity. That is, he is still human, able to learn, able to think and able to feel. The ethnic differences we have been describing are small compared to these.

In other ways a particular child is like no other and knowing something about the culture from which he comes or the ethnic group to which he belongs does not excuse an educator from his obligation to know the child as an individual unique from other individuals and respond to his own special needs with a personally designed plan of instruction. The information about ethnicity growing out of research described in this article is, I think, important and valuable for educators to have, but it is not the only information that they need in planning their actions.

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